

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T GENEVA 5784

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EO 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PARM, UR, US, UK  
SUBJ: CTB TRILATERALS: PLENARY JULY 13, CTB MESSAGE NO 1.

SUMMARY: FIRST TRILAERAL SESSION DEVOTED TO PROCEDURAL MATTERS, REITERATION OF KNOWN SOVIET VIEWS, STATEMENT OF UK POSITION AND BRIEF US STATEMENTS END SUMMARY.

1. SOVIET DELEGATION MOROKHOV OPENED SESSION WITH DISCUSSION OF PROCEDURAL MATTERS. IT WAS AGREED THAT TALKS WERE CONFIDENTIAL (POINT MOROKHOV HAD STRESSED IN MEETING WITH US DELEGATION EARLIER IN DAY WHEN HE COMPLAINED OF PRESS STORIES FOLLOWING JUNE BILATERALS IN WASHINGTON WHICH ALLEGEDLY REVEALED SOVIET POSITIONS); THAT CHAIR WOULD ROTATE (USSR, US, UK); THAT MEETINGS WOULD NORMALLY BE HELD ON DAILY BASIS; AND THAT, WHILE THERE WOULD BE NO FIXED AGENDA, EACH DAY'S DISCUSSION WOULD FOCUS ON TOPICS AGREED AT THE PRECEDING SESSION.

2. MOROKHOV THEN DELIVERED PREPARED STATEMENT OUTLINING SOVIET POSITION. HE CHARACTERIZED TASK OF TRILATERALS AS THAT OF WORKING OUT OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING WHICH WOULD BE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO PREPARATION OF AN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL TREATY. MOROKHOV RECALLED SOVIETS HAD CONSISTENTLY

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ADVOCATED AN AGREEMENT ON THE CESSATION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING BY ALL STATES AND SAID LTBT, NPT AND TTBT/PNET HAD LAID SOLID FOUNDATION FOR COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF SAID TESTING, AND THAT CONDITIONS WERE NOW RIGHT FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT GOAL. HE SUGGESTED TREATY DRAFT BE BASED ON SOVIET DRAFT SUBMITTED TO UNGA IN 1975, PLUS THE 1976 ADDITION WITH REGARD TO

VOLUNTARY ON-SITE INSPECTION.

3. MOROKHOV ESSENTIALLY RESTATED USSR POSITION OUTLINED TO US IN JUNEHNTSREITERATED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO HAVE TREATY INITIALLY SIGNED BY USSR, US, UK WHO WOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY CALL ON OTHERS TO JOIN AND WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TEST FOR A PERIOD OF 18-24 MONTHS. HE CHARACTERIZED THIS PERIOD AS "PROVISIONAL MORATORIUM" AND SAID THAT IF OTHER NWS DID NOT SIGN BEFORE ITS EXPIRATION, THE ORIGINAL THREE WOULD BE EXEMPTED FROM THEIR OBLIGATION. HE SAID SOVIETS BELIEVED VERIFICATION SHOULD BE BASED ON NTM' PLUS INTERNATIONAL SEISMIC DATA EXCHANGE WHICH THEY REGARDED AS SUFFICIENT, BUT THEY WERE PREPARED, IN INTEREST OF COMPROMISE, TO ACCEPT ON-SITE INSPECTION ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS, AS OUTLINED IN SOVIET DRAFT TREATY.

4. STRESSING THEIR ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE TO USSR, MOROKHOV SAID SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS "DEEPLY CONVINCED" THAT PROHIBITION SHOULD NOT APPLY TO PNES. ASSERTING PNES DREW DISTINCTION BETWEEN WEAPONS TESTS AND PNES AND CONTAINED PROVISIONS FOR ON-SITE ACCESS WHICH ASSURED THAT NO WEAPONS TESTS WERE BEING CARRIED OUT, MOROKHOV SAID CTBT SHOULD CONTAIN PROVISIONS FOR CONDUCT OF PNES UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD PRECLUDE THE  
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ACQUISITION OF MILITARY BENEFITS. TREATY SHOULD ASSURE AGAINST PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY AND SHOULD FACILITATE NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE V OF THE NPT.

5. UK AMB CRADOCK DELIVERED PREPARED STATEMENT (SEPT) DESCRIBING UK POSITIONS AS FAVORING CTBT WHICH PROHIBITED ALL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS AND CONTAINED VERIFICATION PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD GIVE MAXIMUM ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE. HE SUGGESTED TRILATERAL AGREEMENT ON KEY ELEMENTS FOLLOWED BY ELABORATION OF TREATY TEXT IN CCD. CRADOCK ALSO TOOK THE POSITION THAT WHILE FRANCE UNLIKELY AND PRC MOST UNLIKELY TO ADHERE TO CTBT IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE, A MULTILATERAL CTBT COULD ENTER INTO FORCE WITHOUT THEIR ADHERENCE. HE SAID CONSIDERATION NONETHELESS NEEDED TO BE GIVEN TO HOLDING DOOR OPEN FOR THEM.

6. AMB WARNKE FOLLOWED WITH BRIEF STATEMENT, SAYING GENERAL US VIEWS ON CTBT ISSUE ALREADY KNOWN TO OTHER TWO DELEGATIONS AS RESULT OF RECENT BILATERALS AND STRESSING CONTRIBUTION CTBT COULD MAKE TO NON-

PROLIFERATION EFFORTS. IN REVIEWING US PREFERENCE FOR TRILATERAL AGREEMENT ON KEY ELEMENTS, HE EMPHASIZED THAT UNDERSTANDING COULD BE QUITE DETAILED AND PRECISE WITH REGARD TO THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH HAVE SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL SECURITY IMPLICATIONS. AMB EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THIS ROUND COULD MOVE RAPIDLY TO THOROUGH EXPLORATIONS OF VIEWS ON AL MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS SCOPE VERIFICATION, ENTRY INTO FORCE AND REVIEW. FOLLOWING THIS STATEMENT IT WAS AGREED THAT NEXT SESSION WOULD FOCUS ON FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF AN AGREEMENT.

7. WE HAVE DISCUSSED QUESTION OF DURATION OF THIS ROUND WITH SOVIETS AND ALTHOUGH MOROKHOV SAID HE IS  
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PREPARED TO STAY IN GENEVA AS LONG AS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE RESULTS, HE IS AMENDABLE (FOR PERSONAL REASONS) TO OUR CONCEPT OF A TWO OR THREE WEEK SESSION FOLLOWED BY AN AUGUST RECESS.

8. DEPT PLEASE PASS LONDON AND MOSCOW.

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